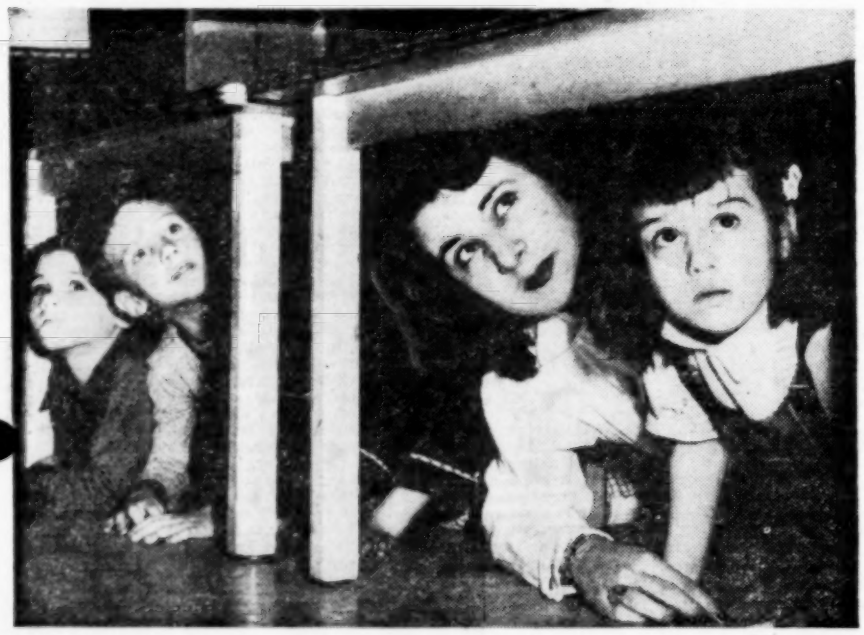
Look upon this picture . . .
CHINA: Children carrying flags of peace in a peace festival.



. . . and upon this
U. S. A.: Children crouching under desks in a Newark air-raid test.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN

5 cents

the progressive newsweekly

Vol. 4, No. 30 NEW YORK, N. Y., May 15, 1952

BIG BUSINESS: UNITED & UNLIMITED

Who's behind Eisenhower? The seen and the secret

By Tabitha Petran

ALL the nation's top financial groups are—for perhaps the first time in U.S. history—united behind one Presidential candidate: General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower.

In 1947 one of the biggest Morgan operators in the country—Thomas J. Watson, pres. of Morgan's Intl. Business Machines, director of Morgan's Guaranty Trust, trustee of Columbia University—undertook to groom the general for the Presidency. Conferences between the two, already going on in Sept., 1947, resulted in Eisenhower's appointment as president of Columbia in June, 1948. This provided him with "civilian" background and an opportunity to come to terms with key industrialists and financiers: Columbia's Board is dominated by representatives of Morgan enterprises with a sprinkling of Rockefeller men.

In 1948 Eisenhower was often mentioned as a Presidential possibility, on the one hand by ADA and CIO leaders desperate for a Democratic alternative to Truman and to stem the peace movement developing around the Progressive Party; on the other, by an odd mixture of liberal and most reactionary Republicans. But he said he would run only as a "non-partisan" candidate in a national emergency, and the time was not yet ripe.

EMANUEL & ALLEN: At that time, however, Eisenhower acquired two other powerful sponsors and advisers: **Victor Emanuel,** financier and political manipulator, whose meteoric rise in U.S. finance was backed by the international Schroeder interests (Cologne, London, N.Y. and Buenos Aires); and **George E. Allen,** "court jester to Presidents," director of Emanuel companies and then top Rockefeller man in Washington. Both had been identified with Democratic administrations, Allen being a former Democratic Natl. Committee member, Emanuel immensely successful in getting appointments for his representatives from Democratic Presidents. His man Louis Johnson became Democratic Party finance chairman in 1948, later Defense Secy.

The importance of Eisenhower's "bipartisan" sponsorship already in 1948—the Morgans and Rockefellers, and key interests behind both big parties—can be gauged by the high posts held by Watson (still the general's chief guide) in all the top reactionary business organizations, and in the broad network of interests embraced by Emanuel and Allen.

WATSON: Who's Who devotes nearly two columns to Watson, who holds these key posts:

- **Pres. (1937-39), now hon. pres., of the Intl. Chamber of Commerce, an organization of the world's most reactionary businessmen, dominated in the 1930's by Nazi big business. During and after World War II, it blueprinted and became one of the chief forces behind the rebuilding of a neo-Nazi Germany.**
- **Member of the Dept. of Commerce's hush-**

(Continued on Page 3)

A million Guardian readers in '52!

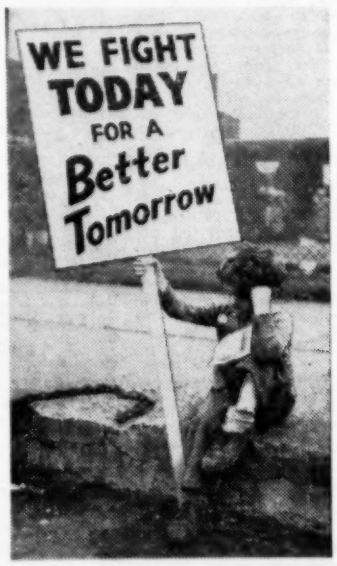
YOU ARE THE CORNERSTONE of a plan outlined on Page 5 of this issue of the GUARDIAN for the accomplishment of the objective headlined above—a million GUARDIAN readers NOW as a starter for the '52 political campaign.

This is not a promotion department dream: it is pretty much a political imperative, to be met within the next six weeks, both for the purposes of the progressive campaigns of which most GUARDIAN readers count themselves a basic part; and for the survival of a press medium for those campaigns throughout America in 1952 and after.

The top priority of the job of building our own press medium has never been more obvious than right now, on the threshold of the 1952 Presidential campaign. Your own community experience will testify that the commercial press, radio and television systems are not only hostile to the very ideas embodied in the Progressive Party campaign, but are virtually closed to our program except at prohibitive expense. Therefore it is clear that the concepts of peace, full human rights and an economy of equal opportunity and plenty for all, will not be placed before the voters of America in this vital year unless we ourselves do the job—via means which fortunately are readily available to us.

THE CASE FOR NATIONAL GUARDIAN, the progressive newsweekly, as the one ready means nationwide should not require too much emphasis. There exists no alternative on a national basis. Locally, however, what other medium do you know which is available in your community, which brings issues like these regularly to the attention of Americans:

- **The genuine possibility of a peaceful alternative.**
- **A program for the accomplishment of a future of real human betterment in a world at peace.**
- **The arguments of citizens of all walks of life for such a program.**
- **The struggles of labor, farmer and exploited minorities to win an expanding standard of living and full freedoms instead of the neglect and impoverishment dictated by the war program.**



- **The need to fight race persecution and repression—as typified by the GUARDIAN's virtually exclusive campaigns to save the lives of the Trenton Six and the terrifying case of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, now facing death for "atomic espionage" of which they were utterly incapable, in a spy plot less plausible than most movie-radio-television melodramas.**

We could go on—but the ensuing pages will point up some of the GUARDIAN's unique contributions, past and present, in the great debate of our time between the forces of progress and fascism.

THERE IS ONE FINAL POINT, however, and it should be the clincher with literally thousands of you who have done a little extra to keep the GUARDIAN publishing ever since 1948.

1952 is the year—and the showdown for peace—for which we have kept this paper alive over nearly four years. If our paper should fail at this point in '52, for lack of a simple easy effort by the individuals most aware of its importance, we shall have dealt our own high objectives a body blow from which there is no come-back—for there is no medium to replace the GUARDIAN, anywhere in our land.

We urge your attention, then, to page 5, and plead for your quick action and response.

—THE EDITORS

TURN TO PAGE 5

Let's call the roll!

A million progressive voters need the GUARDIAN to keep up with the fight for progress. You can help get it to them. See page 5.

$..... enclosed for the following subs at $2 a year, $1 for 30 weeks (indicate by name).

☐ $2 enclosed to renew my own sub.

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NATIONAL GUARDIAN 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

THE MAIL BAG

The party of humanity

CLINTON, ILL.

The party that ventures to demonstrate democracy is the only democratic party worthy of the name. There is but one democratic party in America today. It is humanity-based and not economic-based. It is all-American, taking the essential step, which is demonstration beyond argument, of choosing a Negro for Vice-Pres. Its political philosophy is simply and truly this: The people can have everything that the people can produce and the people can produce everything that the people need, when all artificial barriers are removed. It is the Progressive Party by name and the party of all humanity in fact. **Rev. P. E. Roll**

It's a sure thing

PITTSBURG, CALIF.

The paper has been terrific. If only it could be read by every American, I'm sure things would be different. Good luck to you all at the GUARDIAN. I hope some day to meet all of you wonderful people. **A. Azzalini**

What one man saw

ROCK GLEN, SASK.

Since I got your last issue of the GUARDIAN and looked at the picture of Mr. Hallinan and his family, it reminded me of when I went to school. We had to write on what we saw in a picture. Mrs. Hallinan has a winning look and Mr. Hallinan doesn't worry about his jail sentence. His children all have a look that indicates that they overflow with good and kindness.

We don't see anything about the Progressive nomination or about the jail sentence. I believe the editors of the old party papers all fear a defeat and don't want their readers to know anything about the nominees of the Progressive Party.

Alfred J. Larsen

Why we can't lose

CHICAGO, ILL.

It is inconceivable that we should ever be without you. This is only $10 but it will be $10 a month from now on—at least for a year.

Ellen Brandstetter

The Capt. of Monte Carlo

MONTE CARLO, MONACO

By chance, in a second-hand bookshop, I came across your issue of March 5 and had to open my eyes. I never dreamed that in the U.S. there existed a publication like yours. It must be something of an achievement to keep it going in a country that, in the opinion of more Europeans than you might suspect, is considered the very heart of world reaction—to put a mild term to it. I like our feeble **New Statesman & Nation** but in its denunciation of villainy it is so proper, so British, if I may say so. You, on the other hand, get right down to fundamentals and it is refreshing to read plain talk.

I often think that the war criminals of World War III should be prosecuted now, not after the event and offer as a suggestion the immediate trial of your Dulles. It is certain that, when your "defense" armaments reach a certain point, men like his ilk will go on to war without a moment's hesitation. I was astonished to learn that one of your editors is Cedric Belfrage. I greatly enjoyed those of his books I've read—would that there were more. **Capt. S.**

How crazy can you get dept.

WASHINGTON (UP)—A building project of "bomb ruins" is rising at Olney, Md., to instruct civilian defense volunteers in the best methods of rescue technique. . . . The irregularity of construction has required special skill because these "permanent wrecks" must be structurally sound models that will be put to constant use. CDA members travelled to Japan and Europe to view the results of bomb—and atom-sacred [sic] buildings . . . for ideas on the first U. S. rescue "street."

—New Orleans Item, April 27.

Free one-year sub to sender of each item printed under above heading. Winner: Elizabeth Rogers, New Orleans.

Inside Ike

SCAPPOOSE, ORE.

I like Ike, but cannot trust him because he refuses to reveal and to enumerate his virtues and his political faith publicly, as does Senator Taft. As a safeguard for Our Way of Life, the Un-American Activities Committee ought to ascertain that Ike isn't a Communist. **Vincent Noga**

The other America

KOLDING, DENMARK

Week after week you prove to your readers that there is still an America different from the belligerent America of the Atlantic Pact, of the Korean War and Collier's atomic war — different, in other words, from the America about which we read in every news report from Washington, Tokyo and Paris. **Ida Bachmann**

The Jean Field case

KESWICK, ENGLAND

Have just received copies of the GUARDIAN with articles on the Jean Field case. As a social worker who for ten years has had to help make decisions re custody of children, I was horrified at the court's decision on the Field children. Though custody is often difficult to determine, I would have had no difficulty in deciding that the Field children belong with their mother.

Apparently things have changed in our great "American democracy." The needs of the cold war come first. It is not enough to sacrifice children to the "hot war" in Korea; we must now sacrifice our children to the "cold war." What an admission of bankruptcy!

Paula McLeech

See Puerto Rico

PUERTO NUEVO, P. R.

The writer is president of the Puerto Nuevo Committee of the Independista Party, the only American privileged to hold that honor. I used to work for the Insular Government but lost my job due to a witch-hunt. My case is on appeal to the Insular Personnel Board. My humble home is open to any GUARDIAN reader who wishes to see this beautiful, unhappy land, populated by wonderful people. Long live the independence of Puerto Rico!

Leonard Sidney Schlafer

Carrefour, Paris

"There is one place where meat is continually being reduced—on my plates."

Bid conquest cease!

NEW MILFORD, CONN.

Here is a quote from a patriot and statesman of the Revolution and the earliest days of our Republic. At the entrance to Sky Ridge Cemetery at Redding, Conn., is a tablet bearing these words from Joel Barlow, born in Redding in 1754, died while Ambassador to France in 1812:

"Make patriot views and moral views the same. Renounce the wish of war. Bid conquest cease. Invite all men to happiness and peace."

These lines are from his poem "The Conspiracy of Kings."

How these lines fit today.

Ruth Erickson
Eleanor Stevenson

Unlimited friendship

ALGONAC, MICH.

Your paper is great. No red-baiting, thank God. I refuse to support any person, paper or organization that indulges in a "limited" amount of red-baiting for expediency, for our future, our very lives depend upon friendly relationship between ourselves and the Soviet Union, by whose blood and suffering the world was saved from Hitler & Co. We did our part, though a comparatively small one.

D. Florence Flagg

A new clean house

TOPEKA, KANS.

We Progressives here in Kansas exulted over the news that J. Howard McGrath was given the axe by his master from the Pendergast hierarchy. It was just a case of thieves falling out. However, we are sure that McGranery is no better than McGrath.

The only thing we know for sure is that the facade is beginning to crumble from the top to the bottom. And it will disintergrate and the people will in time erect a whole new house in which common sense will reign. **Walter F. Saar**

Symptom of sickness

MUSKOGEE, OKLA.

I often hear it said that philosophy means nothing, just cobwebs spun with words. Well, there is a great deal of truth in that but it is also, in our time, a dangerous, even abnormal, attitude. For example, never before in history was the meaning of such philosophical terms as atheism, rationalism, freethought, Marxism - Leninism and dialectical materialism, and the attitudes they engender so important to the human race. But do our teachers make these matters clear to their students? An emphatic No! I say that this is probably the worst symptom of the sickness of our abnormal, dog-eat-dog society. **Raymond Rector**

Why do they brag?

NEW YORK, N. Y.

On Feb. 29 I fell and broke my hip. I was taken to the hospital where they kept me until March 17. When I came home, my best friend had come in and had everything burned, thinking I would never come back. My O. A. O. check of $35.65 was due March 20 but I received nothing until later when I was given $20.40. How is that for a billion dollar War Fund U.S.A.?

And my life has never been different—always a fierce struggle for existence. Why does our government brag while its people live such lives?

Martha Van Ansdall
(85 years old and a GUARDIAN booster for the last four years)

Where are WE going?

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

What struck me in the much-heralded picture **Quo Vadis** was the similarity between the situation of early Christians and of progressives today. People who could envision a better way of life for mankind have always been persecuted, tortured and martyred for their ideas.

Robert Taylor probably didn't realize he was lending his talent, such as it is, to a picture throwing under the kleig lights the intolerance, ignorance and brutality of a corrupt and unjust system and the inevitability of the upward, forward progress of mankind. The prototype of Nero isn't too hard to find.

Gertrude Betts

●

SEATTLE, WASH.

I get the GUARDIAN regularly at newsstands, and think it a splendid paper. I note European comments on **Quo Vadis**: "too much violence." True, but there is a reason for showing it—it shows quite a parallel between persecution of Christians as "subverters" then and persecution today under Smith Act for mere ideas. If people who see it would note that parallel it would be worth advertising it. We are becoming a nation of hysterics.

I am proud I opposed Smith Act ten years ago, and concentration camps for Japanese-Americans then as I do for others now; for I know where one group is persecuted, none is safe. **Merritt E. Smith**

More on the farmers

RICHMOND, VA.

We are glad to see that the GUARDIAN writes about farmers, chiefly those in the Farmers Union. We hope your paper will also get around to writing about some other farmers, like those of us who are unorganized — small farmers and sharecroppers — also the agricultural workers. **Alberta Rawlinson**

The first one

BLUE JAY, CALIF.

I am proud to believe in Christ-Communism as our dear Lord Jesus was our first one. The Wall St. in His time in Jerusalem did not like Jesus, because He told the downtrodden that our creator, God, gave abundant wealth to every soul so they could live in decency and not in poverty. Then shortly Jesus had gathered 3,000 followers, a whole lot in His time. The Wall St.-Big Business of that time poisoned church people's minds against Jesus because he was a detriment to Wall St. So they all went out and hollered over the house tops and said, "Crucify Him." They tried to get some crime against Jesus. The same things is happening now. **Martha H. Miller**

Back in the fold

HOUSTON, TEX.

Sometime back I very carelessly let my subscription run out. Now I would like to again join the fold.

It was very careless of me, and when it comes down to it, I was the big loser. Enclosed is a check for $2. Keep up the good work.

Ed Badeaux

Our predicament

BOSTON, MASS.

The predicament of "higher" education is, to a large extent, that it is unduly influenced (because of gifts and endowments) by Big Business, especially in its teachings in economics and sociology.

This degeneracy is clearly shown, for example, in the case of one of our largest universities where, instead of searching for scholarship, they selected a war general (with no educational experience) to head the institution.

A general is a personage who, when hostilities break out, gets himself into the safest possible location (to save his own hide) and, from that place of safety, he directs the wholesale murdering of human beings, including innocent women and children. When he has accomplished that ghastly job (and that kind of work has been his life specialty—for which he was trained) he is then qualified to undertake (and "undertake" is here appropriate) to lower the standing of, or to "ditch" the institution—so far as true educational leadership is concerned.

Moreover, it strangely appears, that such a professional "killer" is just the personage that the Big Boys of finance have sponsored to be the next President of the United States—in an age of widespread insanity, war crimes (in the name of peace), "red" hysteria, witch-hunting, character assassination, and political and moral degeneracy. Such military leadership might turn out to be (in case their aggressions get us into World War II) an adequate way to "ditch" our nation, or at least to set up (as they would like) a Military Dictatorship! — to control labor and the likes of you and me. **Dr. E. L. Dwight Turner**

Fair enough

HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.

The enclosed $105 is from a GUARDIAN party April 26, featuring William A. Reuben, refreshments, and the glow that comes only from meeting fellow GUARDIAN readers. From those of us who heard Bill Reuben's masterful picture of the GUARDIAN and his work on the paper, there comes a unanimous motion favoring reciprocal trade. Send us more GUARDIAN correspondents, and we'll send you many more dollars. Fair enough? **Richard M. Powell**

In times like these

CHICAGO, ILL.

Enclosing money order for $5 for renewal of the GUARDIAN and the balance goes for building up a good working man's paper. Wouldn't be without this great paper in times like these. **Zygmund Borkowski**

NATIONAL GUARDIAN the progressive newsweekly

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Who are the men behind Eisenhower?

(Continued from Page 1)

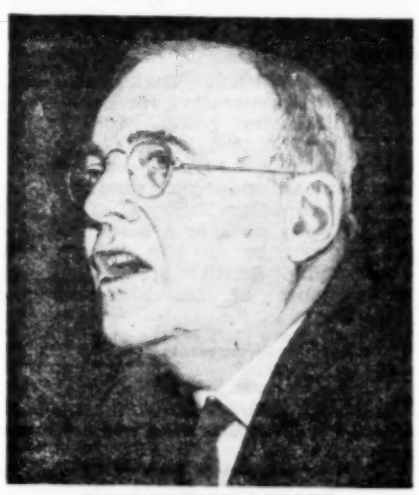
hush Business Advisory Council, probably the nation's most powerful big-business outfit.

• Councillor of the Natl. Industrial Conference Board, biggest big-business research outfit; member of NAM and the Committee for Economic Development (CED), more representative of real big business than NAM since it includes only big corporate interests, has no state chapters.

• Member or officer of a host of other organizations ranging through the Nazi-tainted Steuben Society (see Carlson's Under Cover) to the Friends of Greece and Pan-American Union.

HITLER HANGOVERS: Emanuel, with backing of the Schroeders, is a power in public utilities, ship-building (N.Y. Shipbuilding Corp. with the Harrimans), aircraft, Avco Mfg. Co., Crosley Mfg. & Broadcasting, Republic Steel. The German Schroeders directly negotiated Ruhr backing for Hitler in 1932, were chief backers of the Nazi regime. The J. Henry Schroder Banking Corp. of N.Y. (associated with the Percy Rockefeller interests) was U.S. financial agent for the German steel trust I. G. Farben, other top German cartels, and indirectly for the Nazi government.

Schroder representatives in the Office of Strategic Services and U.S. Army helped engineer the 1944 abortive big business-army coup against Hitler, later to save West Germany's industrialists. Long intimately linked with the N.Y.



JOHN FOSTER DULLES
So many fingers, so many pies

Schroders is **John Foster Dulles,** whose corporation law firm Sullivan & Cromwell serves nearly all the major capital groups. Notorious before the war for his pro-Nazi views and affiliations with German finance, Dulles speaks most often for the Rockefellers, but also at times for the Morgans. His brother, formerly OSS and now C.I.A. head Allen Dulles, super intelligence and espionage chief, has long been identified with the Schroder firm. J. F. Dulles had three conferences with Eisenhower this month, will certainly back him.

THE JESTER: George E. Allen is a director of more than a score of corporations including the Hugo Stinnes Corp.; he was involved in Emanuel's manipulations to get control of I. G. Farben's U.S. front, General Aniline & Film, richest property seized here by the Alien Property Custodian (for a time an Emanuel man, Leo Crowley, whose adviser on foreign-owned property was J. F. Dulles). Allen potently influenced his intimates Roosevelt and Truman, and as RFC director in 1946 controlled distribution of huge government sums to big business. In 1948 he became the intimate of Eisenhower, with whom he often vacationed thereafter. Both Allen and Emanuel are now prominent members of Eisenhower's advisory committee.

As Columbia U. president Eisenhower made public appearances in company with, among others: John D. Rockefeller Jr.; Winthrop Aldrich, board chairman of Rockefeller's Chase Natl. Bank; Watson; James G. Blaine, then pres. of the N. Y. State C. of C. and director of the Marine Midland Trust (see below) and of Remington Rand; Maj. Gen. James Doolittle, vice-pres. of Shell Union Oil (British Shell & Morgan), etc.

In the back room

During his absence in Europe as NATO Commander, Eisenhower's backers were busy. In late 1950 his candidacy was launched (ostensibly without his participation) by a group of politicians, business and military men,

GEN. LUCIUS CLAY
What a payoff!

many of whom later assumed top posts in his organization. They were:

• N.Y. GOV. THOMAS DEWEY: His political career has been backed by the Am. Smelting & Refining Co. (AS&R), important because it brings together Rockefeller, Guggenheim, and Morgan interests, has always played an aggressive political role. Its pres. Roger Straus, married to Gladys Guggenheim, who is on the Eisenhower advisory committee, is Dewey's close adviser. To the Eisenhower organization Dewey later contributed his former campaign manager HERBERT BROWNELL JR., member of the law firm Lord, Day & Lord—close to the Rockefeller interests—which once sponsored Merwin K. Hart.

• SEN. HENRY CABOT LODGE JR. (R-Mass.): A top political lieutenant of the Morgan interests, who became Eisenhower's campaign manager.

• SEN. JAMES DUFF (R-Pa.): Who owes his political career to the Mellons. (By also winning the support of Philadelphia's Joseph Grundy, archest of reactionaries, Eisenhower has both ends of the Pa. Republican Party, which had been badly split. Grundy is head of the Pa. Manufacturers Assn.)

• GEN. LUCIUS CLAY: As occupation chief in Germany, supervised preservation and expansion of U.S. financial interests there, biggest being that of the Morgans into Ruhr steel; was rewarded with the board chairmanship of Continental Can (Morgan-Goldman Sachs-Lehman Bros.), directorships in Morgan's worldwide Newmont Mining Co., and in Marine Midland Trust. Dominant interests in this N.Y. State banking group are the Schoellkopf family of Buffalo (associated with Morgan and Mellon in Niagara Hudson Power) and the Rands of Remington Rand (James Rand has been close to Merwin K. Hart and Frank Gannett). Paul Hoffman and Blaine have been or are now directors of Marine Midland along with the senior Dulles law partner, Eustace Seligman.

Clay was first chief of Crusade For Freedom, the Liberty-League-type group, which sponsors sabotage groups "behind the Iron Curtain." Eisenhower and a high proportion of his sponsors are members of Crusade For Freedom and its parent organization Committee for a Free Europe.

• JOHN J. McCLOY, U.S. High Commissioner for Germany: In the '30's as a partner of the Kuhn Loeb law firm, Cravath, de Gersdorff, Swaine & Wood, he worked on claims resulting from the World War I Black Tom explosion, recovering $2,000,000 for Rockefeller - Mellon - controlled Bethlehem Steel, and becoming an expert on German espionage. Asst. War Secy. during World War II, he appointed Clay head of Military Government, just before quitting to join the Rockefeller family law firm Milbank, Tweed, Hope, Hadley & McCloy. Later he became head of the World Bank. In 1949 High Commissioner. Married to Ellen Zinsser, whose brother John is a J. P. Morgan director, and whose late cousin was Chancellor Adenauer's wife. (Adenauer also supports Eisenhower.)

• HOWARD C. PETERSON JR.: A close associate of McCloy's in the War Dept., where he succeeded the latter as Asst. Secy. in 1945; is finance chairman of the Eisenhower organization. Like McCloy, was associated with the Kuhn Loeb law firm Cravath, etc.

• PAUL HOFFMAN: Organizer and first chairman of the Committee for Economic Development, and until he became head of the ECA, pres. of Studebaker. (Studebaker's board brings together representatives of the Rockefellers, Kuhn Loeb, Lehman Bros., the Cleveland law firm of M. B. & H. H. Johnson, and the Chicago Corp., of which Hoffman is also a director.) Was also director of Morgan's N.Y. Life Insurance Co. As CED chairman he said: "I don't believe it is even socially desirable to have jobs for every man and woman who may want a job" (N.Y. Post, 3/28/45). (The CED supports Eisenhower.) A member of the Commerce Dept.'s Business Advisory Council, United China Relief, and on leave as head of the Ford Foundation, he now heads Citizens for Eisenhower.

• ARTHUR VANDENBERG JR.: The Vandenberg family political fortunes have had the backing of the Newberry, Hadley and Blodgett families of Michigan. The Newberrys are involved in Packard, Cleveland Cliffs Iron, Michigan Bell Telephone, and various Michigan banks. Members of the Hadley family have been associated with the Rockefellers in Webb, Patterson & Hadley, with the Morgan law firm Winthrop, Stimson, Putnam & Roberts; one married into the Standard Oil Pratt family. The Blodgetts are big lumber people in Michigan, Oregon and Washington, once active in the Liberty League. Vandenberg Jr. is assistant to Lodge.

Everybody who's anybody

State committees for Eisenhower reveal similar composition. In Delaware, for example, the committee includes:

• DONALD R. CARPENTER, former vice-pres. of duPont's Remington Arms, chairman of the Pentagon's Military Liaison Committee on Atomic Energy, then head of the Munitions Board, now back with duPont.

• JOHN B. JESSUP, pres. of duPont's Equitable Trust Co.; W. RALPH McINTYRE, director of the same company; J. SELLER BANCROFT, vice-pres. of duPont's Delaware Trust Co.

In Michigan, the Eisenhower Committee includes:

• THOMAS H. REID, Ford Motor's chief lobbyist in Washington; EDWARD E. WILSON, son of C. E. Wilson, pres. of General Motors (Morgan-duPont); COY G. ECKLUND, state manager of Rockefeller's Equitable Life Assurance Co.; JOHN HANNAH, pres. of Michigan State College, which is controlled by Michigan's Board of Regents, in turn controlled by the auto industry; JOHN A. DODDS, retiring head of the Detroit Real Estate Board, etc.

In Texas, Eisenhower is backed by publisher **Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby,** former member of the Democratic Natl. Committee, former head of the WACS, and one of the leaders of the Texas millionaire group around Jesse Jones. He is also backed by the oil industry including wealthy oilmen like his friend **Sid Richardson** and **H. J. Porter** of Houston.

LUMBER & SPAM: Eisenhower organizations—his advisory committee, Citizens for Eisenhower, Young Industry for Eisenhower, etc.—only now

PAUL HOFFMAN
Henry said OK

being formed reveal a formidable array of high fianance and big business from all parts of the country.

Giannini's Bank of America, chief West Coast supporter of Crusade for Freedom and of vigilante groups, is represented by **James D. Zellerbach,** pres. of Crown Zellerbach, one of the nation's biggest lumber and paper firms, dominated by the Bank of America. Zellerbach was ERP Administrator in Italy, is a member of the NAM, CED, NICB, the Committee for a Free Asia, a Chinese Nationalist front, as well as director or officer of many industrial firms. Bank of America has expanded throughout the Far East since World War II.

Western packers, grain speculators, milling and cattle intcrests and big farm operators are represented by Rep. **Clifford R. Hope,** Farm Bureau Congressman from Kansas; Sen. **Frank Carlson,** also of Kansas, co-chairman of the Natl. Eisenhower for President organization; former U.S. Sen. **Harry Darby** of Kansas City, wealthy oil man; and **Philip D. Armour Jr.,** of Armour & Co. (Morgan-Kuhn Loeb). The Chicago finance group and the Morgans are dominant in most of these fields.

BREAD AND BANKS: Minnesota milling interests (Morgan, Goldman Sachs, etc.) are represented by **Elmer Anderson,** Governor of Minnesota, and Rep. **Walter Judd,** a prominent member of the China Lobby. (**Mrs. Oswald Bates Lord,** co-chairman of Citizens for Eisenhower, is the former Mary Pillsbury, of the Minneapolis flour Pillsburys. Her husband's firm is Gayley & Lord, cotton textile firm.) The timber interests of the northwest are represented by **Douglas McKay,** Governor of Oregon; of New England, by **Sherman Adams,** Governor of New Hampshire.

The Boston banking group, which usually operates close to the Morgans, is represented by Sen. **Leverett Saltonstall** (R. Mass.), Sen. Lodge, and Gov. **John Lodge** of Conn., who is active in the American Legion. The Lodges are grandsons of America's most rabid imperialists of the turn of the century. The pressure of the N.Y.-Boston bank axis is reflected in the endorsement given Eisenhower by **Erwin Griswold,** dean of Harvard Law School.

Chorus of Morgans

The Morgan interests are represented, among others, by:

•PHILLIP REED, board chairman of Morgan's General Electric, director of Morgan's Bankers Trust, past pres. of the Intl. C. of C., trustee of CED, NICB; he is on the board of Citizens for Eisenhower.

• JOHN L. COLLYER, pres. of B. F. Goodrich, director of J. P. Morgan & Co., member of the CED, and a founder of the American Legion. FRANKLIN D'OLIER, retired pres. and director of Morgan's Prudential Life Insurance Co., director of Rockefeller's Chase Natl., Natl. Biscuit, Pennsylvania Railroad and one of the kingmakers of the American Legion. CLARENCE FRANCIS, board chairman of General Foods (Morgan-Goldman Sachs), CED, NAM, director of Northern Pacific, Chemical Bank & Trust, Air Reduction Co. GARDNER COWLES, publisher of Look, and midwest papers, a leading Morgan spokesman. THOMAS B. McCABE, former chairman of the Federal Reserve Board. JAMES BAXTER, pres. of Williams College, for more than 20 years a spokesman for Morgan foreign policy. J. CAMERON THOMSON, pres. of Northwest Bancorporation, which operates for the northwest milling interests. MRS. HARPER SIBLEY, whose husband was a director of Morgan's N.Y. Life and Kuhn Loeb's Western Union, associated with the Eastman group around Rochester and with right-wing farm outfits.

ROBBING TAFT: Most interesting is the fact that the Eisenhower backers have succeeded in breaking into the so-called Chicago midwest "isolationist" group, the mainstay of Taft's support. Hoffman himself links into this group through the brokerage firm of Glore, Forgan & Co., which is interested in the Chicago Corp., a holding company, and owns large blocks of public utility companies and industrial companies. Hoffman is a director of the Chicago Corp.

An early and important Eisenhower sponsor is **Henry Ford II,** trustee with Benson Ford of the Ford Foundation, "biggest gift organization in the world" (**U.S. News** 1/18), which owns 90% of the stock of the Ford Motor Co., and whose income from this ownership is tax exempt. Ford too has ties into the Chicago group.

Another is **Ernest T. Weir,** pres. of Natl. Steel, who has strongly criticized U.S. foreign policy. Natl. Steel is associated with the midwest Hanna interests.

OFF THE BEAM: The Taft Committee set up last week offers a stark contrast although its chief, Gen. Albert C. Wedemeyer, is a vice-pres. of Victor Emanuel's Avco Mfg., showing once again big business' ability to keep a foot in both camps when it seems expedient. The committee includes:

Chas. A. Edison, former Navy Secy. and former Gov. of N.J.; William C. Bullitt; Arthur Bliss Lane, former Ambassador to Poland; Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt Jr., of Oyster Bay, L.I.; Dr. Leonard B. Job, pres. of Ithaca College; Mrs. Edward V. Rickenbacker; Louis B. Mayer; Gen. Robert E. Wood, chairman of Sears Roebuck; Mrs. Alice Roosevelt Longworth, of Washington; Rear Adm. Lewis L. Strauss.

Taft's support is based, this committee shows, on the Chicago group around Sears Roebuck, part of the China Lobby and former America Firsters.

WAR & PEACE

Dulles to faltering Europe: Prepare for all-out blitz

BEHIND the Presidential ballyhoo and new graft revelations, setbacks all over the world were steadily deepening the crisis of Washington's policy.

Kulturni Politika, Prague

One of the policy's architects, John Foster Dulles, in the midst of talks in Paris with White House candidate Gen. Eisenhower, called on "free nations" (preferably through UN) "openly and unashamedly" to threaten war against the socialist world, citing Indo-China as a place for possible "retaliatory action of our own fashioning." He defined this as a blitz sea and air attack against China and the U.S.S.R.

Dulles' visits with Eisenhower at this critical point for U.S. policy in both Asia and Europe, and his almost naked call for war in the Paris speech—first of several scheduled to define Republican policy—could be as significant as his Korea-Tokyo trip on the eve of the Korean War. His spring resignation from the government whose policies he did much to shape was one sign, among many, that big business was abandoning the Truman Administration as having served its purpose and seeking a stronger instrument for a stronger policy. The instrument was Eisenhower.

SIT—& BURN: In Korea, Washington's inability either to advance or retreat had never been clearer. With the 11-months-old truce talks near collapse over the POW "issue" which most of the world saw as a fake, Washington apparently had no plan other than

> . . . to sit just where we are—continue to hold the line—and keep on with heavy air attacks on North Korea. (Wall Street Journal, 5/10).

In "the biggest raid of the war" on Suan, near Pyongyang, George Barrett (N.Y. **Times,** 5/9) reported

> . . . 12,000 gallons of fiery napalm [dropped] in a few minutes over the two-mile square target . . . [burning out] whole sections of the town . . . [The raid served] a double purpose—[to warn] the Communists that Allied patience was running short . . . and that the UN was determined to see the Korean affair through to the end. . . .

Yet Washington did not seem anxious to enforce its threat. Said the **Wall St. Journal** (5/10):

> The growing strength of the Chinese Red air force, the U.S. scarcity of jet planes, the now-proved vulnerability of B-29's to enemy fighters make military men leery about enlarging the war in Korea.

Britain, France and Canada asked the U.S. to abide by the 1919 Geneva Convention which makes mandatory return of all POW's to their homelands. Hanson Baldwin (**NYT,** 5/11) said criticism of the U.S. stand for voluntary repatriation, "by delegates representing some of our allies in the UN," had more than any other issue caused "division and bitterness within the allied ranks."

BRASS HOSTAGE: By seizure after the Jackson (Mich.) penitentiary pattern of Brig. Gen. Francis T. Dodd (he was released in good health after three days—reportedly having promised to abide by the Geneva Convention), Chinese and Korean POW's on Koje Island apparently tried to show up the U.S. claim that only 70,000 out of 170,000 POW's want to go home. Outbreaks on Koje, Feb. 25 and March 13, during which many prisoners were killed and wounded, occurred during "screening" processes to determine "who held pro-democratic views"; censorship has been such that the true story has yet to be told, but U.S. officers have admitted that Chiang Chinese and Rhee Koreans were used on "re-education" and "screening committees." Chiang's and Rhee's "re-education" measures in their own prisons are notorious. That the Dodd hostage episode was mainly an outcome of the "re-education" methods used on POW's was probable, but the censors promptly clamped down.

The reality of the U.S. dilemma in Korea and delusions behind Dulles' ultimatum-and-war program were exposed in Hanson Baldwin's admission (**NYT,** 5/11) that China was being transformed from "a weak giant into a formidable military power." A U.S. intelligence officer in Tokyo said (London **Sunday Times,** 4/13):

> China has now become a first-class fighting power. This is the greatest single development in world history since the fall of Hitler, in the opinion of Western leaders in Japan.

German policy shipwreck?

ACROSS the world (Boston **Globe** 4/29),

> . . . the whole structure of American policy devised since Washington made its ill-fated decision to rebuild German military power . . . appeared headed for the reefs.

Top Western officials in Paris (N.Y. **Herald Tribune,** 5/4)

> . . . now are beginning to doubt that it will be possible to rearm the West Germans within the framework of a pooled European Army and go on from there with plans for integration of West Germany with Western Europe.

Yet abandonment of U.S. policy, wrote Drew Middleton (**NYT,** 5/11), would be a "critical step" since

> . . . in plain fact there is no alternative Allied policy to the one that has been pursued in the last three years.

In this atmosphere Washington was still aiming for signatures of the German pacts by May 20.

"MISGIVINGS": Publication by Paris' **Le Monde**—conservative and close to government circles— of a secret report attributed to Admiral William Fechteler, U.S. Chief of Naval Operations, was giving new impetus to the neutralist movement in Europe. The report said war was inevitable before 1960 and West Europe would be swiftly overrun. It was naturally denied but **Le Monde** stuck to its guns. The N.Y. **Times** (5/10) feared that it

> . . . may serve to reinforce fears and misgivings about U.S. policy, which are numerous and widespread.

The spreading anti-war movement was most apparent in Britain where the Labour Party, forced leftward by "Bevanism" in its rank and file, won sweeping victories in rural and town council elections.

EVERYONE'S TALKING: Effects of the Moscow Trade Conference reverberated throughout Europe. Bonn's lower house voted to wipe out Western allied restrictions on trade with the East, all parties joining to adopt the Socialist-sponsored resolutions. The "promise of new and expanding trade with the East" (**WSJ,** 5/7) had become in the Ruhr "one of the most exciting topics of conversation since the war."

In Belgium the editorial of **Libre Belgique** (extreme right Catholic Conservative weekly), written by Louvain Catholic University prof. Fernand Baudhuin, called for prompt negotiations for commercial relations with Russia particularly because "the U.S. is closing its doors against European commerce."

In **Tribune des Nations** (4/25) J. J. Caburol, pres. of the Metal Industries C. of C. in the Thiers region—a delighted delegate to the conference—wrote: "Are we going to refuse the friendly hands that are stretched out to us?" and quoted the slogan coined at Moscow by Goncourt prize winner Maurice Druon: "Businessmen of the world, unite!" Caburol added: "Let the government follow the businessmen's example."

Anti-labor drive proceeds

ON the home front, the "battle" over Truman's seizure of Big Steel moved into the Supreme Court while a million steelworkers still waited for a raise awarded weeks ago by the Wage Stabilization Board. In Congress the purpose of Steel's holdout against WSB became clearer: to win Congressional action removing controls, and new anti-labor legislation, to finish the job on U.S. labor begun with the Taft-Hartley Law.

Kontakt, Oslo

The Mona Bevan

Industry's A-bomb against labor, the banning of industry-wide negotiation, was called for by former War Mobilizer Charles E. Wilson (General Electric) in testimony before the Senate Banking Committee. In answer to a question by Sen. Fulbright—"What can Congress do about this unhappy situation?"—Wilson said:

> "You will never be able to control labor unions and labor monopolies until you end industry-wide bargaining. That is the only way it can be done."

IN THE WORKS: That such legislation is in preparation (probably by the same industry group which drafted T-H) was hinted in hearings on the new Smith Act to place both industry and unions under receivership to prevent strikes. Rep. Kilday (D-Tex.) asked Rep. Smith whether a better approach might not be to ban industry-wide bargaining. Smith agreed but added in defense of his own "stopgap" measure:

> "When you start on the road to prohibit industry-wide bargaining you are starting a major battle."

N.Y. **Compass** labor columnist Arthur Eggleston recalled the comment of the late A. F. Whitney, Railway Trainmen leader, in 1946:

> "If an industry is so essential that anyone can seriously propose the denial of the right of its employees to strike, then it is too essential to be left in the hands of private profit-seekers."

● The strike of 90,000 oil workers against 75 companies controlling 40% of the nation's oil refining seemed headed for settlement, but not before the U.S. and Britain had appealed to "free nations" to curtail civilian gas consumption. The strike has not curtailed military aviation fuel and jellied gasoline for incinerating Koreans.

NEW YORK

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Dr. Paul Lehmann,
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OTHER SPEAKERS—
J. Raymond Walsh, Economist and Commentator
Cyril Graze, Suspended N.Y. Teacher
Dr. H. H. Wilson, Prof. Politics of Princeton
Judge Hubert Delaney, Domestic Relations Court
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The Rosenberg Case and the GUARDIAN

ON April 5, 1951, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were sentenced to die in the electric chair after conviction on a charge of transmitting atomic secrets to the Soviet Union when that country was officially our ally. There was considerable shock but little protest.

Last summer the GUARDIAN asked William A. Reuben to take on a new assignment. Reuben through the GUARDIAN had brought to national and world attention the case of the Trenton Six. In its second issue in Oct. 1948, the GUARDIAN asked: "Is there another Scottsboro Case in Trenton?" That question and the answers turned up by this paper helped save the lives of all six and set four free.

Last Aug. 15 the GUARDIAN asked another question: "The Rosenberg conviction: Is this the Dreyfus Case of cold-war America?" Thus was launched Reuben's carefully documented series demonstrating that the government's entire case rested on the uncorroborated word of a man and woman who were themselves under the threat of prosecution and seeking clemency. (One, a confessed spy, went scot-free; another, sentenced to 15 years, will be eligible for parole in eight years.) The only concrete evidence presented, Reuben showed, was a Spanish Refugee Appeal collection can found in the Rosenberg apartment and a nominating petition for a successful Communist Party candidate in 1941.

WE ARE NOT ALONE: The GUARDIAN published letters the Rosenbergs had written to each other in the death house, like this from Julius to Ethel:

> Take heart and know that we are not alone and that the monstrous sentence passed on us which at first stunned the people will, as time goes on, result in an avalanche of protest, and this great movement coupled to our legal fight will set us free.

The avalanche began to rumble in the fall and a lot of people took heart with the Rosenbergs. In France, Poland, China, Brazil, Australia, newspapers picked up the GUARDIAN's documentary.

Letters of protest and money for the defense poured in. From Chicago, Ill., a man sent $10 and wrote:

> I am sorry I cannot make it more at this time. To me the Rosenbergs give courage and strength and faith in the ultimate triumph of love, justice and peace on earth. More power to the GUARDIAN for the excellent journalism in bringing the Rosenberg Case to the attention of decent America. Tell the Rosenbergs there are tens of thousands in our beloved country who would do as I am doing if they only knew the facts.

From almost every state in the union came letters asking: "How can we help?" Early in October, through the pages of the GUARDIAN, the National Committee to Secure Justice for the Rosenbergs was formed.

JUSTICE RUNS HIGH: Since then Rosenberg committees have been organized in New York, Washington, D. C., Baltimore, Chapel Hill, Asheville and Durham, N. C., Winston-Salem, S. C., New Orleans, Boston, Houston, Cleveland, Detroit, Milwaukee, St. Paul, Minneapolis, St. Louis, Denver, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland, Ore., Newark. Organization is under way in Philadelphia, Chicago and Cincinnati.

The cost of justice ran high. To print the brief for an appeal to the Supreme Court (the Appeals Court rejected an appeal) cost $12,000. On April 23 the natl. comm. asked for funds through the mail. The response was immediate. Some sent E Bonds, some sent pay checks, others jewelry. In a week, in contributions and loans, the committee had its $12,000.

When the committee in ads in the GUARDIAN and elsewhere asked for signatures to a friend-of-the-court brief in behalf of the Rosenbergs, 20,000 signed. The committee hopes to have 100,000 to lay before the Supreme Court.

The legal time-table requires the defense to apply by June 7 for a Supreme Court hearing. The justices are expected to recess for the summer shortly afterward and may not consider the case until the fall term.

A Million Dollar Drive

NATIONAL GUARDIAN herewith launches a $1,000,000 campaign for 1952—to bring into our readership every last one of the million or more convinced progressives in the United States.

We are launching this campaign now because a job has to be done beginning immediately if the progressive campaigns of '52 are to have an effective voice in the nation's press.

To try to win these million American progressives by mail—with promotion pieces, sample copies, follow-ups a la **Time** and **Newsweek**—would cost at least $1 per individual if such an undertaking were possible.

But quite apart from the fact that we haven't got $1,000,000, such an undertaking is impossible because there is no way of reaching these people except through their neighbors and friends. There is no national mailing list of the salt of the American earth.

Yet there they are—a million people ready to receive the GUARDIAN with open arms—but needing to be told about it, urged to subscribe.

Dollars can't do this job—but a million-dollar readership, such as the GUARDIAN now has in all 48 states and in more than 4,000 communities, CAN do the job and WILL do it together if YOU YOURSELF, reading these words, will do your part starting today.

YOU subscribed to the GUARDIAN because somebody told you about it, showed it to you, asked you for two bucks or invited you to try a dollar gift sub—and then kept after you to subscribe for yourself.

You can do the same for others. Personal contact is the only way to build this paper to the widest possible convinced readership.

An important fraction of the nation's million progressives are on your "beat." They're on your personal telephone list. They're among your friends, shopmates, classmates, fellow churchgoers, among the people you see on Saturday nights, the people to whom you write letters. They're the easiest persons in the world to sign up as GUARDIAN subscribers. Nine out of ten need only to be asked! These must come first, NOW—the rest can come later. Here's what to do:

1 MAKE A LIST OF YOUR PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS. Don't skip some because you think they get the GUARDIAN. Make sure—list them all. You'll find their names in your personal phone list, letter file, club membership records, etc. Make your list now (see sample below) and start checking every name on it.

2 CALL THOSE WITHIN TELEPHONE REACH. Phone them right away. Ask if they subscribe to the GUARDIAN. If not, you want their subscription NOW—today. Ask them to take a year's sub for $2. If they are on the fence, urge them to take at least a $1 trial sub for the duration of the '52 campaign.

3 DO THE SAME JOB WITH PEOPLE YOU CAN REACH ONLY BY MAIL. Write a brief, direct letter—just one point: "Subscribe to the GUARDIAN." (Sample letter below.) The sooner they subscribe, the sooner you'll get off their necks.

4 FOLLOW UP, FOLLOW UP, FOLLOW UP! Keep after your list until you've accounted for everyone on it, just as if you were going after union memberships. You know as well as we do that people who pride themselves as progressives, in these times, will welcome the GUARDIAN and thank you for the weekly information it brings that they can't get elsewhere.

5 DON'T WORRY ABOUT DUPLICATION. If other GUARDIAN readers write or phone the people on your list, it can't hurt. It will only build more enthusiasm and speed results.

Resolution

"The National Committee of the Progressive Party recognizes the role the NATIONAL GUARDIAN has played since 1948 in forwarding the program of peace, freedom, security and political decency. Its columns have brought to progressive Americans and the general public a continuing flow of facts and information which has greatly assisted the activities of the Progressive Party and of all other organizations and individuals concerned with a return to a sane, peaceful America.

"We resolve to bring into readership of the GUARDIAN all citizens who join with us in our campaigns for 1952."—RESOLUTION OF PROGRESSIVE PARTY NATIONAL COMMITTEE, JAN., 1952

At your next meeting, Progressive Party, ALP, etc., introduce the foregoing resolution and get the GUARDIAN high up on the agenda. Don't let it get buried—keep it on top, alive and growing.

Try to get every member signed up. It's a known fact that clubs with 100% GUARDIAN readership get the best results in the country.

May 17, 1952

Dear Joe,

I'd like your OK to send you a National Guardian sub. It's just about the only way people like us can keep in touch with progressive labor and peace activities, and it costs only 4¢ a week.

You've probably been meaning to do this but never got around to it. It's really important to do it now, so news of Kimmel Hallinan and Mrs. Bass, the progressive candidates, can reach more people every week.

If you can't enclose the $2 for the year's sub now, I'll be glad to put it up, and collect later.

Drop me a line or call me with your OK.

As ever,
Helen

EVERY PROGRESSIVE YOU KNOW should be a GUARDIAN reader. Only one in ten now is. The other nine are just waiting to be signed up. Your field is wide open. We depend on you to sign up very last one—and every new one that comes along.

OK, now start your list.

GUARDIAN SUB LIST

Bill Amato	RA 9131-J	want to see copy
George Bauman	OR 8414	call home - call Tuesday
Emily Braden	5100 Olympia Ave Cincinnati, O.	wrote May 15
Mr. Dodds	VI 9623	will send the $2
Hal Gerecke	UL 4921-R	$2 - try next month
Jean Kaplowitz	WA 4923	$2 sub husband will pay
Al Marsh	RA 4182	got it - will let Al know
Mrs. Nelovsky	PL 9761	OK - wants it wrapped
Louise Mellon	1619 T St NW Washington DC	
Dr. Wellner	BL 4000	wants to see it
Polly Parsons	RA 7161	got it - just renewed
[illegible]	OR 2135	call next week

FOR A MILLION READERS IN '52

CALENDAR

Philadelphia

"PEACE ON THE '52 BALLOT" every Friday evening, 8:30 p.m., Station WHAT, 1340 on the dial, starting May 9 for 13 consecutive weeks.

Los Angeles

"THE FRATERNAL SONGSTERS," directed by Sonny Vale, are starting rehearsals for the great new "NEGRO CANTATA." If you like to sing, and can carry a tune, audition any Tues. in May, 8:30 p.m., 7675 Beverly Blvd. See you Tues. nite. Start singing for **PEACE & BROTHERHOOD.**

Final lectures of Seminar by **MARTIN HALL:** May 22: **"THE U. S. LOOKS AT ITSELF,"** May 29: **"THE WORLD LOOKS AT THE U. S."** 8:15 p.m. sharp, First Unitarian Church. Adm. 60c. The L. A. chapter of the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice expresses its thanks to Mr. Hall for a successful seminar, and highly recommends his services to forward-looking people in other cities and other churches.

DEBATE, Thurs., May 22, 8:15 p.m., at Parkview Manor, 2200 W. 7th St. **"IS SOVIET SYSTEM DEMOCRATIC?"** Affirmative: Samuel Hofberg. Sorbonne student. Negative: Abraham Brownstein, former manager, N. Y. Joint Bd. Furriers Union. Auspices: Social Discussion Group.

Chicago

PUT PEACE ON THE BALLOT IN ILLINOIS. Come to our **"FIGHT FOR THE BALLOT" RALLY.** Hear **VIVIAN HALLINAN,** Fri., May 23, 8:15 p.m., Chopin Cultural Center, 1547 N. Leavitt. Adm: 60c, incl. tax. Auspices: PP of Illinois.

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IMPORTANT. April 1st issue will report on the Intl. Economic Conf. held in Moscow. Articles by prominent scientists, writers and representatives of trade unions and business circles. New subscribers will receive April 1 issue.

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New York

PLAY DUPLICATE BRIDGE in Greenwich Village., Sat., May 17, 8:30 p.m. Prizes. Refreshments. For reservations call Ann McCann, AL 5-2314. Benefit 1st A.-D.-Village American Labor Party.

San Francisco

SAN FRANCISCO & BAY AREA will hear **CORLISS LAMONT** on **"PROSPECTS FOR PEACE AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE,"** at Sir Francis Drake Hotel, Tues., May 27, 8 p.m. Adm: $1, tax incl. American Russian Institute, SUtter 1-2395 for reservations.

CLASSIFIED

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General

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Oregon loggers, New York garment workers, Texas cowhands, and Pennsylvania miners and men and women of the medical, legal and scientific professions have signed this Amicus Brief. Your name must be here, too, along with the names of your friends and associates.

The Brief MUST be returned by June 30 in order to reach the Supreme Court in time.

AMICUS BRIEF in the ROSENBERG CASE

WE BELIEVE that the trial of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and Morton Sobell on a charge of conspiring to commit espionage, which resulted in death sentences for the Rosenbergs and a 30 year sentence for their co-defendant, lacked guarantees of fairness which all Americans have a right to expect under the Constitution.

WE BELIEVE that the Prosecutor and Trial Judge permitted fear and prejudice to dominate the trial by 1) attributing to the defendants social beliefs which are today the target of virtually every tribunal, and 2) attributing to them reversals and casualties suffered in Korea.

WE BELIEVE that transient political and social passions have no place in our courts, that to deprive even one American of the right to a fair trial is to injure the rights of all Americans.

WE THEREFORE authorize the inclusion of our names in an Amicus Brief to the Supreme Court of the United States, petitioning that the verdicts and sentences be set aside, and that a new trial be ordered based on Constitutional guarantees of impartiality and fairness in accordance with the best traditions of American justice.

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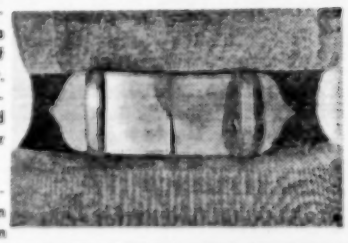

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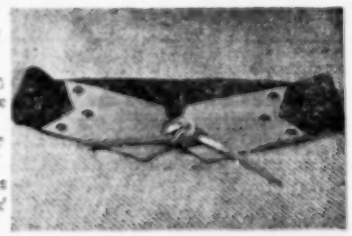

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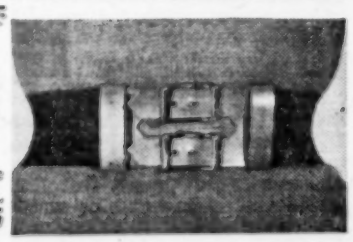

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THE HIDDEN HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL GUARDIAN

I. F. Stone, the Korean War and the defense of life

By Cedric Belfrage

If Stone's thesis corresponds to reality, we are in the presence of the greatest swindle in the whole of military history . . . a terrible maneuver in which deception is being consciously utilized to block peace when it is possible.

—CLAUDE BOURDET in L'Observateur (Paris), Feb. 15, 1951.

I. F. Stone is a gifted, intelligent, progressive but determinedly individualistic journalist who now writes for the N. Y. **Daily Compass.** The first results of his study of "strange discrepancies" in the official Korean War picture appeared in Paris eight months after the war began. The study finally

Business 'boomlet' depends on shooting

GUARDIAN, May 24, 1950

emerged as a book; no regular U. S. publisher, of course, would touch it.

Progressives owe gratitude to the independent socialist magazine **Monthly Review** for making available in a single, well-written, profusely-documented story the main outline of the swindle. The book will help undermine confidence in a leadership whose removal is America's only alternative to disaster. It questions the whole official account of how the war began, throws light on the bloodthirsty maneuvering of Dulles, MacArthur, Rhee and the Chiang gang. It exposes the whole "UN" fraud, and the crowning fraud of the "humanitarian" refusal to return Chinese-Korean POW's while now-ignored "UN" POW's remain prisoners of a regime which a few weeks ago was charged—equally fraudulently—with committing frightful atrocities on them.

THE PHANTOM HORDE: By far the best thing in the book is the politico-military analysis of the war's later

"A CHARIOT LEADING US TO HELL"

Washington warriors alarmed by growing peace crusade

GUARDIAN, June 7, 1950

phases, based on Stone's unique, monumental study of "UN" communiques and discrepancies between them and reliable correspondents' dispatches. Brilliantly reconstructed is the "phantom battle" of January, 1951, when MacArthur fled before a "horde" that wasn't there, consisting (according to him) of 1,305,406 enemy troops, of which the North Korean part had grown in a few weeks from total destruction to 26, then 34, divisions. Stone's well-buttressed explanation is that MacArthur, having deliberately forced Chinese intervention in defense of its south-bank Yalu power installations, expected the atom-bombing of China as the next stage; his retreat before the fictitious "horde" was to ensure evacuation of his forces and avoid being trapped in Korea in the armageddon he yearned for.

On the other hand Stone's overall political analysis, as he strives to keep aloof from "the simplistic propaganda of either side," is sadly weak in many vital spots from the viewpoint of the GUARDIAN, which sees a responsibility not to delay in proclaiming all known truth and where it points on such issues no matter whose propaganda it may coincide with.

ANY PEOPLE AROUND? What must strike progressives is that in a 380-page book on Korea he has nothing to say about conditions, aspirations and movements of the people—not only in North and South Korea, but in any country involved. The whole story is told as if the peoples were mere pawns in a chess game played by "leaders." Nor is there any word about the U. S. economic picture. (General Motors' top economist has admitted that durable goods industries faced a saturated consumer market in early 1950 and were only saved by the war.)

And even concerning our own "lead-

Atlantic partners tell U.S. 'The cold war must end'

GUARDIAN, June 14, 1950

ers"—while he properly sums up that "the dominant trend in American political, economic and military thinking was fear of peace"—Stone dodges with leading questions to the reader the responsibility for his own overwhelmingly-documented conclusions (notably over the question of who started the war and why). If such caution were exercised in courts of law, no criminal would ever have been convicted.

As for his stressing of the "weak" role of Truman and Acheson—although once he does describe MacArthur as "lagging behind Truman" (over the question of bringing the war to China, p. 347)—the evidence simply does not justify it. His key omission of the fact that the Administration's whole Far East policy shifted between December and February, 1949, puts him off base on this from the start. Thus he can imply that the war was an exclusively MacArthur-Dulles project—a thesis contradicted by the testimony of Asst. Secy. of State Hickerson which he himself presents.

BEG TO DIFFER: Stone's generous treatment of Truman's note to Moscow as the war started, asking it to use its "good offices" with the North Koreans, is equally unjustifiable since—as Irving Pflaum pointed out at the time in the Chicago **Sun-Times**—it was timed deliberately so that Moscow could not have answered. He gives no evidence (there is none) for the statement that Truman encouraged Nehru's efforts to limit the war.

Nor does the thesis hold water that Truman replaced Johnson with Marshall as War Secy. to curb preventive war tendencies; clearly Johnson's fault was that he was too busy playing profit politics to run the war machine efficiently. Clearly, too, the recall of MacArthur was evidence not of Truman's "moderation" but of worldwide protests of people in allied countries.

THE STORY YOU GOT: Stone's book prompts a review, which we make no

WHAT THE PRESS ISN'T SAYING

War in Korea—the real facts

GUARDIAN, June 28, 1950

apologies for presenting here, of the GUARDIAN"s coverage since our first June, 1950, issue. The signs of serious U. S. business recession which mere cold war could not cure. Lie's and Gunnar Myrdal's peace missions to Moscow; the British demand to get out of the "American chariot leading us to hell"; the huge peace demonstrations in Tokyo and Berlin; the mail pressure for peace flooding Capitol Hill, resulting in Sen. McMahon's resolution for disarmament talks; a third of mankind signing the Stockholm peace pledge; the "determination of the masses to break through for peace" (Arthur Krock, N. Y. **Times**) —and Truman's and Acheson's answers, a yet more violent denunciation of Russia and a foretelling of still greater U. S. arming; the resounding electoral defeat of Rhee in Korea: all these added up to an extreme crisis for Washington and Wall St. and to our June 7 and 14 headlines (see cut).

Before our last June issue was out, the "solution" for this big-business crisis had been found—in Korea. In our June 28 coverage of the "cold war turning hot" on the 38th Parallel, we reported what had crept into early June 25 newspaper editions and at once been withdrawn—that the South Ko-

Korea contrast—north and south

GUARDIAN, June 28, 1950

reans had captured a town north of the Parallel in the first day's fighting. We reported the already suspicious facts known about Dulles' Korea trip, Gen. Bradley's and War Secy. Johnson's mission in Japan; and above all, summarized the conditions of life and of democracy existing for the people in North and South Korea. Just how the months-long sporadic fighting on the Parallel had become a war was still unsure; what the whole world picture showed was that war was as much to the political disadvantage of North Korea's friends as it was to the advantage of South Korea's.

LIFTING A BLACKOUT: In a special Korea issue July 5 (now a collector's item), we protested in an open letter to Truman that peoples' rights to revolt against intolerable conditions must be recognized and the U. S. had no right to interfere. We told the

THE KOREA RECORD IS CLEAR

How U. S. turned UN into a cold war ally

GUARDIAN, July 5, 1950

emerging facts about how Washington had turned UN into an instrument for U. S. big business. We published Marcantonio's lone, blacked-out protest in Congress against the illegality of the U. S. entry into the war, with his prediction that "the American people will not want this action when they think it over." And we proceeded to publish the likewise blacked-out North Korean and Soviet versions of how the war started. By our July 19 and 26 issues we were able to summarize the mounting evidence of MacArthur's and Dulles' role in rigging up the war.

In the nearly two years since then, using Stone's method of documentation from top sources, the GUARDIAN has reported the war week by week—especially in Tabitha Petran's brilliant world roundup—as the "greatest swindle in military history" that it is, so that much of Stone's documentation is long familiar to our readers.

KOREA IS THE PRETEXT

Police state peril

GUARDIAN, July 12, 1950

Meanwhile, during all the decisive months of 1950 (publisher's foreword to Stone's book), Stone

> . . . accepted the official version of events. Here, he thought, was a plain case of unprovoked aggression by the North Koreans which could not have happened without the approval of the Soviet Union. It was on this assumption that he analyzed . . . the early months of the war.

TIME IS SHORT: The name of the one national newspaper in the U. S. — NATIONAL GUARDIAN — which was already saying in June and July, 1950, essentially what Stone is saying (still with some reservations about "facts not yet known") in May, 1952, does not appear. In commending the book we mention this with sorrow.

An entire country has been laid in ruins, and well over two million people (including 19,071 Americans) have died while Stone was making up his mind.

We do not say this in bitterness. But the respect we have for Stone today—he is doing the best job in the country on the implications of the Smith Act prosecutions—is mitigated by the fact that he has not yet made up his mind to say anything about the Rosenberg Case. We still say that it's better late than never; but time marches on too rapidly to allow the luxury of many more such drawn-out wrestling matches between honest progressives and the fear in their souls of falling victims to "simplicist propaganda."

We submit that the gifted I. F. Stone owes it to the sick society he inhabits to bring his gifts to the rescue of **all** its extreme victims, not after they die, but while they live.

THE HIDDEN HISTORY OF THE KOREAN WAR, by I. F. Stone, 384 pp. $5 in stores; $5 with year's sub to Monthly Review if ordered from MR, 66 Barrow St., N. Y. C. 14.

Jean Field case in court May 26

THE case of the two children of Mrs. Jean Field (GUARDIAN, Feb. 6, 13, 27) is set to be reopened in the District Court of Oklahoma City May 26. The young mother, now living in Los Angeles, has not seen the children for 17 months and they have not been allowed to write or receive her letters. When she enters Oklahoma—where her husband who deserted the family obtained custody of Jay and Mary Field on the ground that her opposition to the Korean War and race discrimination made her an "unfit mother"—she expects to be arrested on a charge of stealing her own children and have to post heavy bond. Mrs. Field's attorney in her attempt to regain custody is Herbert B. Hyde, state chairman of the Eisenhower - for - President Committee, who successfully conducted the anti-discrimination case involving the University of Oklahoma.

Although help for Mrs. Field has come from almost all over the world, the Jean Field Committee (Pauline Schindler, secy., 835 Kings Rd., L. A. 46, Calif.) said another $1,500 must be obtained by the trial date; urged immediate sending of letters to editors of Oklahoma papers (Okla. City **Times, Daily Oklahoman, Black Dispatch,** Tulsa **Tribune**). Mrs. Schindler wrote:

> The articles by Albert Kahn in the GUARDIAN have brought in more response than any other in behalf of the case. Because of what you published, powerful unions have voted their support; editors have written from England, Holland; letters and funds come in from the lumber country to the deep south.

Ludas Matyi, Budapest

"Come on, Joe, give us an opinion on Ike, Kefauver & Taft that's printable."

Iron Curtain, home style, for 2 great Americans

The U. S. iron curtain was tightened still further last week when Dr. Linus Pauling, one of the world's greatest scientists who heads the Calif. Inst. of Technology chemistry dept., was denied a passport to visit Britain for a Royal Society conference, and Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, world-famous Negro writer and leader, was barred from entering Canada for the Canadian Peace Congress conference.

A Justice Dept. effort to convict Dr. DuBois for "not registering as a foreign agent" in circulating peace information collapsed last year. On Tuesday he spoke at the American Labor Party rally in Madison Sq. Garden, New York.